

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHURCH
OF PANAGIA KAMARIOTISSA
ON HEYBELIADA (CHALKE),
ISTANBUL

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with

A NOTE ON PANAGIA KAMARIOTISSA AND
SOME IMPERIAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
AT CONSTANTINOPLE

by

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IN April of 1971 and again in July of the same year permission was granted me by the commanding officer of the Turkish Naval Academy on Heybeliada to visit and photograph the Byzantine church known as Panagia Kamariotissa, which is located within the military precinct there.¹ The restricted nature of the site has, in recent times, left this monument virtually inaccessible to archaeologists, and this situation is not likely to change in the near future. It is unfortunate, too, that when the monument was accessible, that is, prior to World War II, archaeologists paid very little attention to it. A cursory and very poorly documented report by the Russians Nikolaj Brunov and Hermann Židkov constituted the entire archaeological bibliography on the church down to the present.² Hence, the building has been in a sense twice removed from the scholar, since he could neither visit it at first hand nor even study it in photographs. For this reason it seemed worthwhile to attempt a photographic documentation of the church as complete as possible, inside and out, in the hope of restoring the monument to some extent to its proper place in the study of the architecture of Constantinople. The monument is of more than peripheral interest.

Even though it is located some thirty-odd kilometers south of the city, Panagia Kamariotissa deserves to be counted a Constantinopolitan church. Like modern Istanbul, the ancient city was not confined by the fortified walls of Theodosius II, but spilled over into the surrounding country, populating the shores of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus, and the Marmara with a variety of villas, resorts, and suburban communities whose life was always part of the life of the city itself. The problem of the Kamariotissa, then, is one of situating the monument in the evolution of the architecture of Constantinople and examining what new information it adds to that central and most influential development. The evidence of the new photographic documentation requires some revision of opinions formerly accepted.

Earlier authors in their descriptions of Constantinople have universally assigned the Kamariotissa to the very last phase of Byzantine architecture. The more common opinion attributed its building to the penultimate Emperor John VII Palaeologus (1425–1448),³ but Janin, citing a seal of the monastery

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Alb. Fuat Başol and Yrb. Muammer Güvenç for the hospitality and consideration with which I was received on the base. I would also like to thank Miss Mary Davis of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and Major David E. Fanning, U. S. M. C., Assistant U. S. Naval Attaché, for facilitating my clearance through the Turkish General Staff in Ankara. Finally, I am happy to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for their financial support of my work in the photographic documentation of the churches of Istanbul.

² N. Brunov, "Die Panagia-Kirche auf der Insel Chalki in der Umgebung von Konstantinopel," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 6 (1927–1928), 509–20; H. Židkov, "Über ein Freskenfragment in der Panaghia-Kirche auf der Insel Chalki," *ibid.*, 521–28. Semavi Eyice's book on the Palaeologan architecture of Constantinople also includes a brief archaeological report on the Kamariotissa, but there is no evidence that he visited the church himself: *Son Devir Bizans Mimârisi. İstanbul'da Palaiologos'lar Devri Anıtları* (Istanbul, 1963), 44–46.

³ This dating rests on an inscription of John VIII Palaeologus, now missing, which is discussed below. B. Koutloumousianos, "Υπόμνημα ιστορικόν περί τῆς κατὰ τὴν Χάλκην μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου (Con-

with the date 1372, moved the attribution back to John V Palaeologus (1341–1391), which was the date accepted by Brunov and later by Orlandos and Eyice.⁴ Apart from this unresolved issue of the exact date, however, architectural historians were of one mind with Brunov in associating the tetraconch design of the church with that of Panagia Mougliotissa in Constantinople, also tetraconch, which is thought to belong to the end of the thirteenth century. Taking the two together, Brunov imagined a kind of last, and implicitly decadent, Palaeologan Renaissance, that is, a return in the last years of the Empire to building types of Early Christian precedent in quatrefoil plans. The two churches were thus summarily dismissed as a final repetitious coda at the end of the architectural history of the capital.

Credit for finally correcting the dating of the building belongs to Aristeides Pasadaios who, in an article that appeared during the preparation of this study, observed that the recessed brick masonry required a date in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁵ The photographs submitted here confirm this important observation. Pasadaios' article also provides a useful new survey of the post-Conquest history of the monastery, which continued in use down to its conversion in 1831 into a Greek school and in 1875 into a School of Commerce. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent Pasadaios' archaeological analysis of the Kamariotissa is based on actual first-hand observation of the monument. The photographs, published at too small a scale to be useful, are not contemporary, and the original design of the building has been incorrectly observed.

The most salient facts of the more recent history of the site can be briefly summarized.⁶ In 1672 a disastrous fire swept the monastery destroying all but the church of Panagia; and the first Christian to hold the post of Grand Dragoon at the Sublime Porte, one Panayotaki, was responsible for the subsequent rebuilding, which was commemorated with an inscription at the entrance to the monastery.⁷ Pasadaios hypothesizes, quite reasonably, that the devastation of the fire included the katholikon of the monastery to which the surviving Kamariotissa was only a subsidiary; this would allow for the tradition that the monastery was originally dedicated to St. John the Baptist,

stantinople, 1846); Konstantios IV, patriarch of Constantinople, *Constantiniade*, French trans. M. R. (Constantinople, 1846), 201–6; S. Byzantios, *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις* (Athens, 1863), II, 303–4; G. Schlumberger, *Les îles des Princes* (Paris, 1884), 102–24; S. Bettini, "Un inedito mosaico del periodo paleologo a Costantinopoli," *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, II (= *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 6) (Rome, 1940), 31–36; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, 1965), 294; Semavi Eyice, "Les églises byzantines d'Istanbul," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 12 (1965), 316–17.

⁴ R. Janin, "Les îles des Princes: étude historique et topographique," *Echos d'Orient*, 23 (1924), 326–38; A. K. Orlandos, *Τὸ καθολικὸν τῆς παρὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην Μονῆς Περιστερῶν*, in *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 6 (1951), 161; S. Eyice, *Istanbul: petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs* (Istanbul, 1955), 116–17; *idem*, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*, 44.

⁵ A. Pasadaios, *Ἡ ἐν Χάλκῃ Μονὴ Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης*, in *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑφημερίς* (1971), 1–55.

⁶ Cf. Koutloumousianos, *op. cit.*, for a more complete account, or Janin, *op. cit.*, for a convenient summary.

⁷ The inscription was recorded in Dr. John Covell's Journal, British Museum Add. MS. 22.914, fol. 21 (=p. 39), and has been published by Konstantios, *op. cit.*, 202, as well as elsewhere.

supposing a shift in title after the destruction of the church bearing his name.⁸ A century later, in 1796, a new complete repair of the monastery and church was undertaken by Alexander Ypsilanti, hospodar of Walachia. The church was partly repainted and a bell tower added; and the following year the tiny neighboring church to the north, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was erected. After the turbulent period of the Greek Revolution the monastery was converted in 1831 into a Greek school; the school buildings were used as a Greek orphanage after World War I and are now quarters for the Turkish Naval Academy. A final repair of the monastery is recorded in 1875 by the banker M. Zaphiropoulo, and an earthquake, which brought down many of the frescoes, is recorded in 1894.

Of the earlier, pre-Conquest history of the church only a single firm historical document remains and its interpretation poses a problem. Dr. John Covell, a seventeenth-century English traveler, recorded the inscription of a plaque which, he said, was located on the north wall of the church. The inscription, which has disappeared, very simply commemorated the Emperor John Palaeologus, with the date September 1447.⁹ Contrary to the assumption made by earlier authors, this cannot refer to the erection of the church, as our present evidence makes clear. In fact, it would be most unlikely for the founder of a church to commemorate his generosity so very modestly.

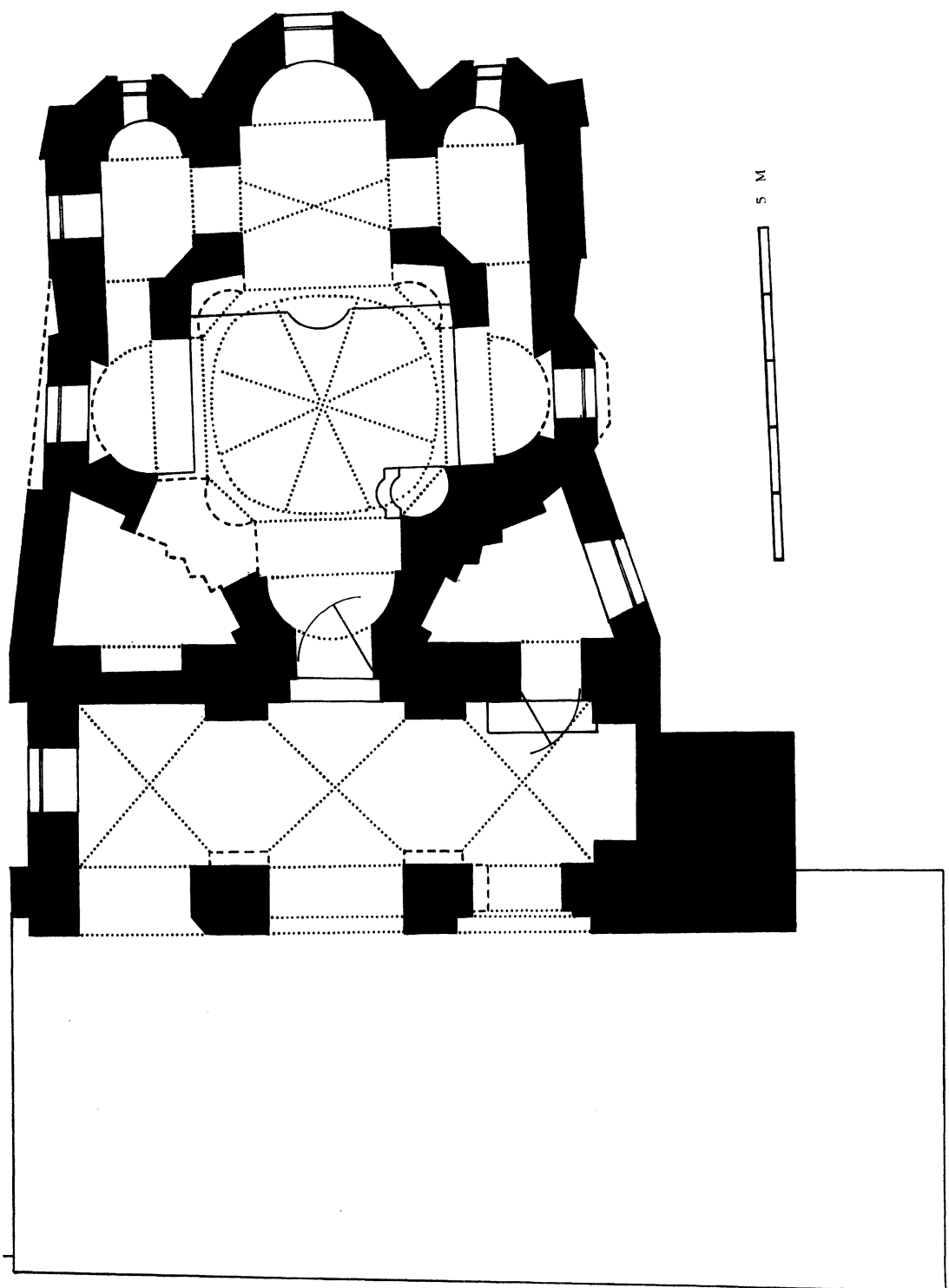
Since the documentary sources for the Kamariotissa are so very slight, our knowledge of the monument is limited for the most part to what can be learned from a careful inspection of the fabric of the building itself. In this examination my new photographic documentation can be supplemented by older photographs taken by the Turkish Commission for the Preservation of Monuments in 1942, when the monastery became government property.¹⁰ Along with the photographs, reference should be made to the plan (see fig. A), which has been adopted with corrections from those of Pasadaios and Brunov, with the understanding, however, that we still lack an authoritative architectural survey of the building.

Panagia Kamariotissa is not a very imposing structure. The interior of the church proper measures barely 6 m. in width by 9.50 m. in length, dimensions that scale it to the class of Constantinople's smaller churches, St. John in Troullo, the Mougliotissa, or the parekklesion of Pammakaristos. The building stands free in the middle of the great quadrangle of the Naval Academy with Ypsilanti's chapel of St. John the Baptist a few meters to the north and a water tower a few meters east (fig. 1). The church is now unused, empty,

⁸ Pasadaios, *op. cit.*, 13–14.

⁹ The inscription reads: + Ἰω(άννου) ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Παλαιολόγ(ου) κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτέ(μβ)ρ(ιον) (Ἰνδικτιῶνος) ια' τοῦ ,ςου λ'ου νς' ἔτους; Dr. John Covell's *Journal*, fol. 20^v (=p. 38). I am most thankful to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for bringing this source to my attention. See Professor Cyril Mango's suggestion for its interpretation in the note following this article.

¹⁰ Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni, whose archive is kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. I am most grateful to Bekir Şükrü Eğeli, Secretary of the Encümen, and to Necati Dolunay, Director of the Museum, for making this material available to me. I am also indebted to Dr. Nezih Fıratlı, who first alerted me to the existence of this valuable collection.



A. Heybeliada, Ground Plan of Panagia Kamariotissa. Walls cut away at ground level are indicated with dashes.
(Drawing: David Mathews)

generally clean, and thoroughly whitewashed. Having never been used as a mosque, nor for any secular purpose, the irregularities and mutilations of the building must be attributed to its continuous use as a church by the Greek Orthodox community.

Viewed from the west, an octagonal cupola rises from an octagonal base over the narthex, whose façade opens with three unequal arched entrances. To the right of the façade is the base of the little belfry erected in 1796. The irregularity of the narthex entrances and the unnecessary height of the narthex roofing (concealing an attic one to two m. high) must be accounted for by the outer narthex that used to stand here, as seen in earlier photographs (fig. 2). The outline of its plan is still visible in the pavement that steps up about four meters to the west of the existing narthex. The outer narthex, which was destroyed shortly after 1942, was a timber-roofed hall divided in two to provide a women's room or gynaikeion at the south end. Inside, the north wall of the outer narthex was decorated with an Akathistos cycle; other frescoes decorated the east wall, including a Dormition over the central entrance to the inner narthex (fig. 3). This fresco was rudely cut in half by the enlargement of the entrance which, judging from the appearance of an iron boss in the intrados, seems to have been made when the fabric of the building was reinforced with iron stays, probably after the earthquake of 1894. The addition of this outer narthex and its fresco decoration is attributed by Koutlounousianos to the restoration of Panayotaki in 1672; this dating is borne out both by the presence of burials in the exonarthex pavement starting in 1707 and by the style and epigraphy of the frescoes.^{10a}

The inner narthex is covered with a triple groin vault (fig. 4). The southern end opened through a broad low arch with a little window above it—still visible inside but closed by the belfry on the outside. The north wall of the narthex may have echoed this originally, though a single round-headed window is found there now (fig. 5). The arch at the south end of the narthex still retains the wooden frame, which formerly housed the church's most important icon, the Theotokos Kamariotissa.¹¹ The narthex presents a major problem in its dating and consequently in establishing the original shape of the church; for, although Brunov saw it as an addition to what was originally a simple, narthexless plan, Pasadaios is of the opinion that it belonged to the original plan.¹² New evidence can be found in inspecting the rest of the church.

Viewed from the south, the church reveals something of its history (fig. 6). In the center the southern apse of the quatrefoil plan has been cut back mercilessly in modern times for the insertion of a plain rectangular window. This revision, like other window revisions, should probably be dated to the last

^{10a} Koutlounousianos, 'Υπόμνημα ιστορικόν, 25. For a listing of the burials at the Kamariotissa, see Pasadaios, in 'Αρχ. Έφ., 7 note 3. I am very grateful to Professor Cyril Mango for observations on the style and epigraphy of these frescoes.

¹¹ It is not known what became of the icon. The Theotokos icon in the narthex of Aya Triada on Heybeliada, which is said to have come from the Kamariotissa, does not match the Encümen photograph of the icon *in situ* in 1942.

¹² Pasadaios, *op. cit.*, 29–39; Brunov, *op. cit.*, 510.

general overhaul of the building after the earthquake of 1894. From the inside it is clear that both the south apse and the corresponding apse on the north side (fig. 16) originally had three slender windows divided by a pair of thin piers. The exterior wall surface above the windows is decorated with a row of squat recessed niches, flat and concave. To the left of the apse a wall of very irregularly-laid small stones encloses a low chamber in the corner between the narthex and the quatrefoil. The continuation of the row of decorative niches above the roof of this chamber (fig. 7) indicates that the chamber is later and that the quatrefoil originally stood clear of encumbrances here. The pitched roof of the narthex ends abruptly at a level far above this corner chamber—an irregularity which will find its explanation in an examination of the corresponding corner chamber on the north. To the right of the apse one sees a blocked window placed high in the diaconicon; the blocking of the window is evident from the inside both here and in the corresponding prothesis on the north (fig. 19). These side windows lighted the sanctuary as well as the pastophoria, for windows at the same level open from the pastophoria into the sanctuary within, a rather unusual feature (fig. 14). Above the window on the outside an iron clamp is visible reinforcing the structure, further evidence of the consolidation of the structure after 1894.

The best evidence for dating the first and principal building phase of the church is to be found at the east end, where the peeling of plaster on the three apses has revealed masonry that was still hidden when Brunov inspected the church (figs. 8 and 9). The exceptionally high mortar beds tell us that we are dealing with recessed brick masonry, that is, every second course of brick is set back from the face of the wall and hidden in the mortar. As a Constantinopolitan masonry technique, recessed brickwork flourished from the end of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century, the earliest instance being its use in the Tithe church at Kiev which was erected by masons from Constantinople between 990 and 996.¹³

The articulation of the apses on the south and east (the north apse has been walled over) may give us even a better indication of date. On the south side of the church a series of recessed niches, both concave and flat, was observed, forming a decorative zone running above the window zone (figs. 6 and 7). The same decoration evidently continued around the sanctuary apse of the east end. Though these niches have since been filled in—probably at the time when the fabric was girded with an iron band after 1894—the peeling plaster clearly reveals their outlines (fig. 10). Decorative niches over windows occur throughout Middle Byzantine architecture, but the shape of the niches undergoes a gradual evolution from the squat, almost semicircular niches of Pantepoptes to the taller niches of Pantokrator, which in turn foretell the later development of the steep and elegant narrow niches of Palaeologan monuments.¹⁴

¹³ On Kiev, see M. K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 49, 91 ff. For a listing of other dated examples of recessed brick masonry, see C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 249–50.

¹⁴ Cf. Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, pls. 142, 144, and 139.

Within the picture of this gradual evolution, the decoration of the Kamariotissa fits closest with that of Pantepoptes and, therefore, should probably be dated to the late eleventh century.

The Panagia on Heybeliada, therefore, must take its proper place in Middle Byzantine architecture and its usual classification in the last phase of Byzantine architecture has to be abandoned. The unusual plan of the building, moreover, makes it an important monument within the Middle Byzantine development. An examination of the northwest corner chamber between the church proper and the narthex clarifies the original design. Here, looking up through a recently fallen plaster ceiling, one can observe to the south a series of recessed niches articulating what was originally the exterior wall surface of the quatrefoil core of the building (fig. 11). These match in number and sequence the niches already noticed in the corresponding position on the south side of the church. To the west (right and center in fig. 12) one can see—in a coarser, conglomerate masonry—two piers and a window between them belonging to the east wall of the narthex's north bay. This window stands over the door (now blocked) from the north bay into the corner chamber; the springing of the arch over the window is still in evidence. The fact that the narthex is later in date than the church is clearly indicated by the difference in masonry, but it is also apparent from the way in which the narthex addition covered the original exterior niches of the church in this corner. For, in the angle where the narthex meets the wall of the church, the beginning of an irregular domical vault is still in place, indicating that when the narthex was added to the church this corner bay was enclosed and vaulted over, forming a little chamber. Unfortunately the exact shape of this chamber is not clear because the present exterior wall to the north is not in bond with the narthex wall and must be a more recent construction, like the corresponding irregular wall of the chamber on the south (fig. 6). But it is clear that when the narthex was added a pair of chambers, very likely matching in plan, were also added in the corners between the narthex and the original quatrefoil core.

These little corner chambers, vaulted over above the level of the earlier exterior niches, would have been of the same height as the chambers flanking the sanctuary at the east and would have been lighted from the west with windows that opened above the vaulting of the narthex—an arrangement which the steep pitch of the present narthex roof has concealed. Whatever their purpose, whether built as burial chapels or for private devotion, these corner chambers were entered from the narthex only and did not communicate with the nave of the church. At present, the entrance from the narthex to the north chamber is walled up, but the entrance to that on the south still exists.

A serious structural study of the building would be necessary to fix archaeologically the date of this addition of narthex and corner chambers. At present, one can only point to the possibility that the inscription of John VIII Palaeologus mentioned above (p. 119), which was located inside somewhere on the north wall of the church, may well have referred to this expansion of

the building. The addition of narthexes to several of Constantinople's other churches establishes a very definite trend in Palaeologan architecture. The church of Constantine Lips, the Chora, the Pammakaristos, the Vefa Kilise Camii, and very likely also Panagia Mougliotissa, all received new narthexes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Like the outside, the interior of the church has also been severely mutilated. In addition to the substitution of stone-framed square windows in place of the original delicate arcading on slender colonnettes (figs. 13, 14, and 16), the walls have been chopped back from their original lines in many places. The design of the church called for short barrel-vaulted arms converging at the center on a domed unit, which was expanded to octagonal shape by niches placed on the diagonals between the arms. Contrary to Brunov's and Pasadaios' plans, these niches are shallower than a semicircle. The eastern niches, those flanking the sanctuary arm, were cut back to square corners at the ground level to receive an iconostasis (figs. 13, 15).¹⁵ On the other hand the northwest niche has been hacked open on the ground level with a wide irregular arch to take advantage of the space in the little north corner chamber (fig. 16); if we are correct in assigning all the iron stays and bosses in the church to the post-earthquake restoration at the end of the nineteenth century, this carving away of the northwest niche also belongs to that restoration. The southwest niche has two low steps indicating the position of the throne in modern Orthodox usage. The entrances to the pastophoria, both from the sanctuary and from the north and south crossarms, have also been cut away, widened, and their vertical lines destroyed (figs. 14 and 15).

The sanctuary is higher than the body of the church; a low step runs straight across, projecting slightly in the center for the "ambo" of modern Orthodox usage. The north and south arms of the quatrefoil are also raised a step above the body of the church, though earlier plans omit these differences in levels (or show other, non-existent steps). The original level of the church, however, may be somewhat lower than the present paving.

Frescoes are still visible in several places beneath the whitewash. Traces of the Angel of the Annunciation can be made out in the northeast niche of the crossing, with the Virgin completing the composition in the southeast niche (fig. 13). The Nativity of Christ is recognizable in the south apse, while St. Anne's Conception and the Birth of the Virgin have been left practically uncovered in the southwest niche (fig. 17). The Birth of the Virgin, in a clumsy and desiccated style, shows a curious corruption of the iconography of that scene in which the care rendered to the mother has developed into a banquet scene, while the newborn Virgin Mary lies unattended and unnoticed beneath the table. These, and other frescoes visible in the Encümen photographs of 1942 (fig. 15), seem to belong to the same seventeenth-century decorative

¹⁵ The iconostasis is now at the theological school at Aya Triada on Heybeliada, but the sections have been rearranged, and it was not clear from a cursory examination which of the icons were still in their original frames. The carving should be attributed to Ypsilanti's restoration at the end of the eighteenth century.

program as the frescoes of the outer narthex, but the peeling of plaster in places makes it evident that much earlier layers of fresco still exist below this decoration. In 1928 Židkov published the head of a young male saint of the Palaeologan period which was visible in the sanctuary at that time.¹⁶ The possibility that other frescoes of the same period, and even earlier ones, may still exist at the Kamariotissa presents a most tantalizing prospect for any future investigator of the monument. It is not inconceivable that parts of the original eleventh-century decoration lie still concealed beneath the more recent layers.

Apart from the introduction of iron stays and bosses, the vaulting of the church is in surprisingly good condition (fig. 18). The arms of the quatrefoil carry short barrel vaults ending in apse vaults, except for the deeper eastern (sanctuary) arm, which has a little groin vault (fig. 14). The cupola is scalloped in an eight-part melon shape, which at its springing is distorted from a true circle to a circle flattened somewhat on four sides. The northeast window of the drum has been blocked up, and the very crown of the dome shows an irregular patch of repair.¹⁷ The pastophoria are barrel-vaulted, and the falling of plaster in the diaconicon has revealed the masonry there (figs. 19 and 20).

The vaulting, more than any other feature in the church, emphasizes the unique position of Panagia Kamariotissa in the history of Middle Byzantine architecture, for it places the church squarely in the center of the development of the most innovative plan of the eleventh century, the plan that Millet called the "church with corner squinches" and Krautheimer the "Greek-cross-octagon."¹⁸ The essence of this plan consists in the expansion of the central domed crossing unit beyond the diameter of the arms of the cross plan. This expansion is achieved by placing niches, whether semicircular or right-angled, at the corners of the central square, the niches finishing above in squinches. The crowning vault, then, that rings the central space just under the rim of the drum, takes on a very distinctive shape as its continuous curve is cut back by the eight unequal arches—four larger arches over the cross arms and four smaller ones over the niches. This is the basic common denominator of the brilliant series of Middle Byzantine designs at Daphni, Chios, Stiris, and Athens, as well as their later descendants at Arta, Mistra, Monemvasia, and elsewhere.

The church on Heybeliada is by no means a very elegant addition to this series. It is an inexpensively-built church with no marble revetments, it is very small, and the dome is rather irregular.¹⁹ The importance of the Kamario-

¹⁶ Židkov, *op. cit.*, 521–28. A better photograph of this fragment can be found in the typescript set of volumes by W. Sender et al., *Byzantina: Important Antiquities of Constantinople*, trans. V. Ziehlinsky (Constantinople, 1925–30), III, pl. 47.

¹⁷ Pasadaios' sections show a cup-shaped concavity in the crown of the dome, but it is not clear on what evidence this restoration is based: Pasadaios, *op. cit.*, figs. 6 and 13.

¹⁸ G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), 105–18; Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 243–45.

¹⁹ It is possible that the Byzantine eye was not really offended by this kind of irregularity. The drums of Pantokrator's north and central churches show similar deformities, despite the importance and richness of this imperial foundation.

tissa in this series lies not in its size or refinement, but in its location in metropolitan Constantinople. For, although both Millet and Krautheimer hypothesized that the development of the Greek-cross-octagon around the Aegean should be linked to Constantinople, until now the archaeology of the capital had not provided a single instance. The new dating of the Kamariotissa, therefore, demonstrates the currency of the Greek-cross-octagon in eleventh-century Constantinople, where formerly we had no concrete evidence of its presence; and this may tell us something of the origin of this important new design.

But the Kamariotissa is also involved in another important development in Middle Byzantine architecture, and that is the quatrefoil plan, or its abbreviation, the trefoil. This plan, with its distinctive apses projecting on the exterior to the north and south, enjoyed extensive use in Serbia and Macedonia down to Late Byzantine times, starting perhaps from its introduction at the Great Lavra of Athos in the second half of the tenth century. But again the absence of contemporary, or near contemporary, instances in Constantinople left the relation of this development to the capital unclear. Krautheimer was obliged to attribute the later occurrence of the quatrefoil plan at Panagia Mougliotissa to belated influences of provincial designs upon Constantinople.²⁰ The redating of the Kamariotissa, therefore, again changes our picture of the lines of influence in Middle Byzantine architecture by demonstrating the currency of the quatrefoil plan in the capital. And again this may give us a new hint concerning the origin of an important new design idea.

It is significant that Panagia Kamariotissa not only supplies us with our first Constantinopolitan examples of the quatrefoil plan and the Greek-cross-octagon plan, but it furnishes a unique example of both these important plans in a single monument. For the Balkan examples of the tetraconch are never developed with the expansive Greek-cross-octagon plan in the central domed unit; and, on the other hand, the Aegean examples of the Greek-cross-octagon never add apses to the arms of the cross plan. Krautheimer and Millet, following the leads first suggested by Strzygowski, have pointed out the obvious similarities between the Aegean Greek-cross-octagons and church plans with squinches in Armenia, from St. Hrip'simé at Vagharshapat in the seventh century to Aght'amar in the tenth century.²¹ But Panagia Kamariotissa with its combination of Greek-cross-octagon plus tetraconch argues a much stronger dependence on Armenia, for the combination of the two elements is as common in Armenia as it is unfamiliar in Byzantine circles. If there were lines of contact between Middle Byzantine architecture of Greece and earlier design ideas of Armenia, those lines could be expected to pass through Constantinople, where, closer to their sources, the plans would be received in a purer state.

The absence of a narthex at the Kamariotissa tends also to strengthen this line of reasoning. As observed above, the masonry in the northwest corner chamber demonstrates that the narthex did not belong to the original plan;

²⁰ Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 294.

²¹ Millet, *op. cit.*, 105-18; Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 244.

in a most un-Byzantine fashion one originally entered the church directly into the west apse of the tetraconch. The narthex in Byzantine architecture is so universal that it is very difficult to find other examples of its omission.²² As a necessary functioning part of church space it served in the early liturgy as the organizing point for the procession of the First Entrance, while in later times it was used for the chanting of the Divine Office.²³ It is quite possible, then, that the absence of a narthex at Heybeliada points to a non-Byzantine influence on the design, and Armenia would be the most likely source of such influence, for in the Armenian tradition the church was originally entered directly, without even porch or entryway; such subsidiary structures as the "gavit" are later additions.²⁴

A connection between Middle Byzantine architecture and Armenia is, of course, intrinsically quite possible.²⁵ The tenth and eleventh centuries were a period of ever-increasing involvement of Constantinople in the affairs of Armenia, beginning with extensive military aid against the Arabs and ending with the Byzantine annexation of whole provinces of Armenia—Tayk' and Vaspurkan by Basil II and Ani by Constantine Monomachus, who, significantly, was the builder of Nea Moni on Chios. Evidence of cultural exchange between the two kingdoms is found on many levels—the work of Trdat, Ani's most famous architect, on the restoration of Hagia Sophia in 989; the residence of the Armenian intellectual Gregory Magistros in Constantinople in the mid-eleventh century; the presence of a permanent Armenian bishop in Constantinople; and, in the other direction, the introduction of Byzantine manuscript painting into Armenian scriptoria; the introduction of the Byzantine antiphons into the Armenian liturgy;²⁶ and, obviously, the intrusion of Byzantine politics into Armenian government. It is hardly surprising if elements of Armenian architecture should appear in Byzantine church designs at this time.

Of course the resemblances of the Kamariotissa to Armenian designs does not absolutely prove a direct dependence, and the possibility is still open that in Constantinople itself these new design ideas had a much longer history, which archaeology has not as yet uncovered. In either case, the Kamariotissa brings us closer than we had been before to the sources of tetraconch and Greek-cross-octagon in Middle Byzantine architecture, and this is its unique importance to us.

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²² Constantinople's other tetraconch, Panagia Mougliotissa, seems to be the only other exception in the capital. Cf. A. Van Millingen, *The Byzantine Churches of Constantinople* (London, 1912), 272–79. The monument has never been properly studied, and it is quite possible that a new examination of the church will redate it also to the Middle Byzantine period.

²³ T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople, Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Penn., 1971), 138–47.

²⁴ G. de Francovich et al., *Architettura medievale armena* (Rome, 1968), *passim*.

²⁵ Cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

²⁶ This liturgical detail I owe to correspondence with Rev. Robert F. Taft, S. J., of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome.

A NOTE ON PANAGIA KAMARIOTISSA AND SOME IMPERIAL
FOUNDATIONS OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
AT CONSTANTINOPLE

CYRIL MANGO

MR. A. Pasadaios and Professor T. F. Mathews share the credit for having discovered almost simultaneously that the little church of Panagia Kamariotissa on the island of Heybeliada (Chalke) was built not in the mid-fourteenth century, as has been supposed hitherto, but, most probably, in the eleventh. Thus redated, this church assumes an important position in the development of Middle Byzantine architecture, as Professor Mathews has pointed out in the preceding pages. I should like to offer here some additional observations.

1. THE MYTH OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE KAMARIOTISSA IN 1341–72

It is time to dispel this myth which, as Professor Mathews points out in note 4 of his article, has won wide acceptance. Its originator was Germanos, metropolitan of Seleucia, who found a deed of sale of 1748 bearing an octagonal seal of the monastery. In the margin of this seal, which represented the Dormition of the Virgin, was this inscription in capital “Byzantine” letters: Σφραγὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς νήσου Χάλκης, ,ατοβ’, and below the figure of the Virgin the further legend, οἱ Παλαιολόγοι. His Grace of Seleucia concluded that this actual seal was made in 1372, which may have been the year of the foundation of the monastery, and that the founder was the Emperor John V Palaeologus (1341–91).²⁷ Unfortunately, Janin was convinced by this demonstration,²⁸ and later scholars followed suit. Even Mr. Pasadaios postulates a restoration of the monastery by John V.²⁹

The octagonal shape of the seal and the use of the Christian era suggest very strongly that this was a post-Byzantine object. Furthermore, I suspect that Germanos misread the date, which was probably, ,αχοβ’, since it was precisely in 1672 that the monastery was refounded by Panayotis Nikousios after it had been burnt down. Whatever may be the truth of the matter, this piece of “evidence” ought to be eliminated from the annals of the monastery.

2. THE INSCRIPTION OF JOHN VIII

I do not believe that this inscription had any connection with the Kamariotissa church. The best record of it is that made by Cozel (fig. 21) who found it “upon ye N. wall of ye church,” and made the important observation that it

²⁷ Ἱερὰ μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν Χάλκῃ, in Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, 34 (1914), 87–89.

²⁸ “Les îles des Princes,” *EO*, 23 (1924), 326–27.

²⁹ Ἀρχ.Ἐφ. (1971), 14, 53.

"hath been studdied at ye ends and corners of ye letters with lead." It was next seen by Domenico Sestini in 1778 by which time it had been broken into several pieces and was lying in the ruins of the main church of the monastery (whose site is now occupied by the chapel of St. John the Baptist built in 1797). Sestini gives an imperfect copy.³⁰ These details are corroborated by the Patriarch Konstantios I who saw the inscription in 1785. It was in four pieces and was written "in very large letters" (γράμματα μέγιστα). The Patriarch adds that it was subsequently thrown away.³¹

It follows that the inscription was meant to be placed out of doors, since the letters were filled with lead, and at a considerable height, since the letters were very big. In phraseology and appearance it corresponds exactly with the dozen or so inscriptions recording the restoration of the Land Walls of Constantinople by John VIII between the years 1432 and 1448.³² These are also filled with lead. It may be worth noting that the latest in date of these inscriptions (September or October, 1448, since John VIII died on October 31) was found in a Greek church, that of the Panagia in the quarter of Altı mermer (Exi marmara) in the western part of Istanbul.³³ The Kamariotissa inscription would fit very well into the same series. It probably fell down from the walls and was conveyed to Chalke in the seventeenth century.³⁴

3. THE WALL PAINTINGS

As noted by Professor Mathews, the bulk of the wall paintings would appear to date from 1672. Koutloumousianos, who is our authority for this, also reports that the dome was repainted in 1797 during the restoration of the monastery by Alexander Ypsilanti.³⁵ Some frescoes may have been touched up even more recently.

In view of the redating of the church to the Comnenian period or even a little earlier, some reservations should be expressed about the fragmentary head of a youthful saint, once visible on the south pier, which has been widely quoted as a specimen (indeed the only specimen) of Constantinopolitan wall painting of the third quarter of the fourteenth century,³⁶ and used in connection with the *œuvre* of Theophanes the Greek. The most accurate information concerning this fragment is, I believe, to be found in an album entitled *Byzantina. Important Antiquities of Constantinople*, with text (typewritten) by N. Mikhailoff and photographs by W. Sender, No. 4 (Constantinople, 1925).

³⁰ *Lettere del Signor Abate Domenico Sestini*, VI (Leghorn, 1784), 202-3.

³¹ Κωνσταντινιάς παλαιά τε και νεωτέρα (Venice, 1824), 165.

³² B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 1943), p. 124, No. 3; p. 127, Nos. 11, 17; p. 128, No. 19; p. 130, Nos. 25, 27; p. 136, No. 45; p. 140, No. 59; p. 142, Nos. 66, 68, 69.

³³ K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Archaeologisch-Epigraphisches aus Konstantinopel," *BNJbb*, 3 (1922), 113-14 and fig. 8.

³⁴ M. Gedeon, Σημείωμα περί Καμαριωτίσσης, in 'Εκκλησι. Ἀλήθεια, 22 (1902), 473, voiced a similar suggestion.

³⁵ Ὑπόμνημα ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Χάλκην μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου (Constantinople, 1846), 51.

³⁶ H. Židkov, "Über ein Freskenfragment in der Panaghia-Kirche auf der Insel Chalki," *BNJbb*, 6 (1928), 521 ff.; V. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek* (Moscow, 1961), 28 and pl. 6a; *idem*, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 373 and fig. 518.

This contains three good exterior views of the Kamariotissa and two photographs of its frescoes. The first of the latter represents two saints in medallions and bears the caption: "Uncovered wall paintings under the outer layer of plaster." Both the style and lettering of these images are similar to those of the Birth of the Virgin and Conception of St. Anne (fig. 16) which should be attributed to 1672. The next photograph, that of the youthful saint, has this explanatory statement: "In the places where the first and second layer of plaster have fallen off, there appear the primitive images painted directly on the stone wall. Note the white face in the centre of the picture." If this observation is correct, we would have to conclude that the fragment in question was earlier than 1672 and, in all probability, was Mediaeval. Since, however, the attribution of the church to the period 1341–72 rests on no serious evidence, the date of the fresco cannot be supported by historical considerations.

4. SOME IMPERIAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Professor Mathews has rightly emphasized the importance of the Kamariotissa for the problem of the transmission of the architectural type of the "church on squinches" to Greece, where it is represented, starting in the eleventh century, by a series of famous churches, such as Nea Moni on Chios, the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas, Daphni, etc. The combination in the Kamariotissa of an octagonal vaulting system below the base of the dome with a quatrefoil ground plan has led him to further interesting observations and provided additional evidence of the Armenian derivation of this monument.

It has long been conjectured that the *église à trompes d'angle* (as Millet calls it) had Constantinopolitan antecedents, and some scholars have pointed to the church of St. Mary Peribleptos, a splendid foundation of Romanus III (1028–34), which was described in 1403 by the Spanish traveler Clavijo in terms that would be applicable to the architectural type in question.³⁷ It is, indeed, quite reasonable to suppose that the splendid examples in Greece were inspired by even more lavish imperial foundations in the capital, but the account of Clavijo is, unfortunately, too vague for any definite conclusions to be drawn from it.

There exists, however, other more concrete evidence from Constantinople that has not attracted sufficient attention. I have in mind, first, the church of Christ of the Chalkê Gate, sumptuously built by the Emperor John Tzimiskes

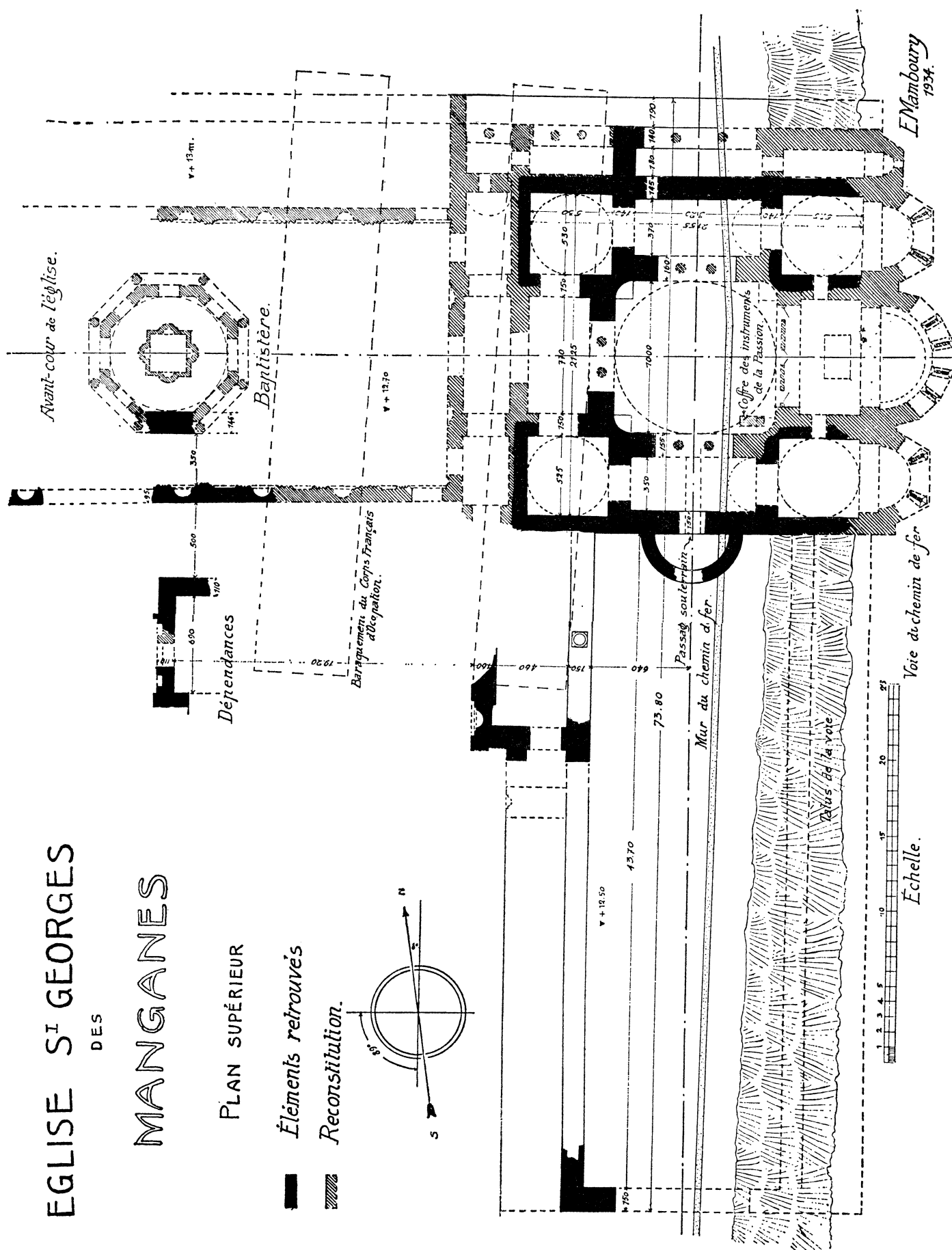
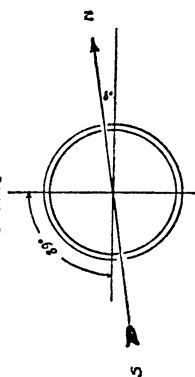
³⁷ C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Paris, 1925), I, 448–49. G. A. Soteriou, *Χριστιανική και βυζαντινή αρχαιολογία* (Athens, 1942), 426 note 1, also mentions in this connection the church of the Holy Apostles in the Imperial Palace, built by Justin II (?), and the church of St. John in Petra, allegedly founded by John II Comnenus (on the basis, once again, of Clavijo's description). Cf. E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou* (Paris, 1951), 40; C. Delvoye, "Mistra," *Corsi Rav*, 11 (1964), 118. Soteriou appears to have been misled by Gregorios Photeinos, *Τὰ Νεαμονήσια* (Chios, 1865), 76, who reports a tradition that the Nea Moni was modeled after "the small church of the Holy Apostles" at Constantinople. There were at least three churches dedicated to the Apostles at Constantinople (of whose architectural form nothing is known) in addition to the great cruciform church. As for St. John in Petra, which first appears in history in the eleventh century, the date of its construction is not recorded. Clavijo's description may be consulted in *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. G. le Strange (London, 1928), 62–63 (St. John: no suggestion of a squinch plan), 64–65 (Peribleptos).

EGLISE S^I GEORGES
DES
MANGANES

PLAN SUPÉRIEUR

Éléments retrouvés

Reconstitution.



ca. 972. This church lasted down to 1804, and has been described and delineated by several travelers.³⁸ A careful examination of the evidence—bearing in mind the fact that the building, which was used as a menagerie, suffered considerable damage through the centuries—leads me to believe that the Chalkê church was a quatrefoil, although nothing definite can be said about its vaulting system.³⁹ I shall not present here the argument, which would require a fairly lengthy excursus. What is, however, worth pointing out is that Tzimiskes is said to have designed the church himself,⁴⁰ and Tzimiskes was an Armenian.

The second piece of evidence is provided by the church of St. George of Mangana, the principal foundation of Constantine IX (1042–55), upon which he expended extravagant sums of money.⁴¹ This church was partially and rather hastily excavated by the French occupational army in 1922–23, and the excavation report, published much later, is disappointingly brief.⁴² By Byzantine standards it was a large church, the main structure measuring about 23 × 33 m. (external dimensions, including the narthex). The *naos* was a cross-in-square with four corner compartments, the central space measuring 10 m. across. Setting aside the hatched elements on the plan (fig. B) which are conjectural, we cannot help noticing the re-entrant dome piers, which present a curved angle, instead of the normal right angle. This suggests that they could not have been crowned by normal pendentives tapering to a sharp point. A similar rounding-off of the central square is found in Armenian monuments, e.g., Aght'amar, except that in the latter the curved corners are pierced by arched openings that lead into little chambers. The Mangana church presents other interesting elements which we need not now consider.

Nea Moni on Chios is firmly attested as a foundation of Constantine IX. If we ascribe the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas to the same reign, as its latest investigator does on the evidence of Ciriaco d'Ancona,⁴³ we obtain a fairly precise date for the introduction into Greece of the "church on squinches." This would confer added importance upon St. George of Mangana.

Dumbarton Oaks

³⁸ The documentation is assembled in C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), 149ff. An interesting old engraving was later published by S. Eyice, "'Arslanhane' ve çeşresinin arkeolojisi," *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, 11/12 (1964), pl. VII; reprinted by S. Miranda, *Etude de topographie du Palais Sacré de Byzance* (Mexico City, 1971), fig. 10.

³⁹ In *The Brazen House*, fig. 1, I tentatively reconstructed the church of Christ as a trefoil with four internal columns. I now believe I was mistaken in so doing.

⁴⁰ Leo Diaconus, Bonn ed., 129: τῶν γέσιων αὐτὸς σχηματίσας τὸν περίμετρον.

⁴¹ The principal account of the construction is in Psellus, *Chronogr.*, VI, 185–86. There is also a description by Clavijo. Both may be consulted in English translation in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 218–20.

⁴² R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* (Paris, 1939), 19ff. and pl. v (=our text fig. B).

⁴³ E. G. Stikas, *Τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν χρονικὸν τῆς μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά Φωκίδος* (Athens, 1970), 13ff. and 244ff., arguing against M. Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 19 (1969), 127ff., who places the construction of the *katholikon* shortly before 1011. If Stikas is right (of which I am not absolutely convinced), the earliest church of this type in Greece would probably be Panagia Lykodemou at Athens, built shortly before 1044: H. Megaw, "The Chronology of some Middle-Byzantine Churches," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 32 (1934), 95–96.



1. West Façade, with Chapel of St. John the Baptist (1797) to Left



2. View from Southwest showing Outer Narthex, as in 1942

Heybeliada, Panagia Kamariotissa



3. Fresco over Central Entrance from Outer to Inner Narthex, as in 1942



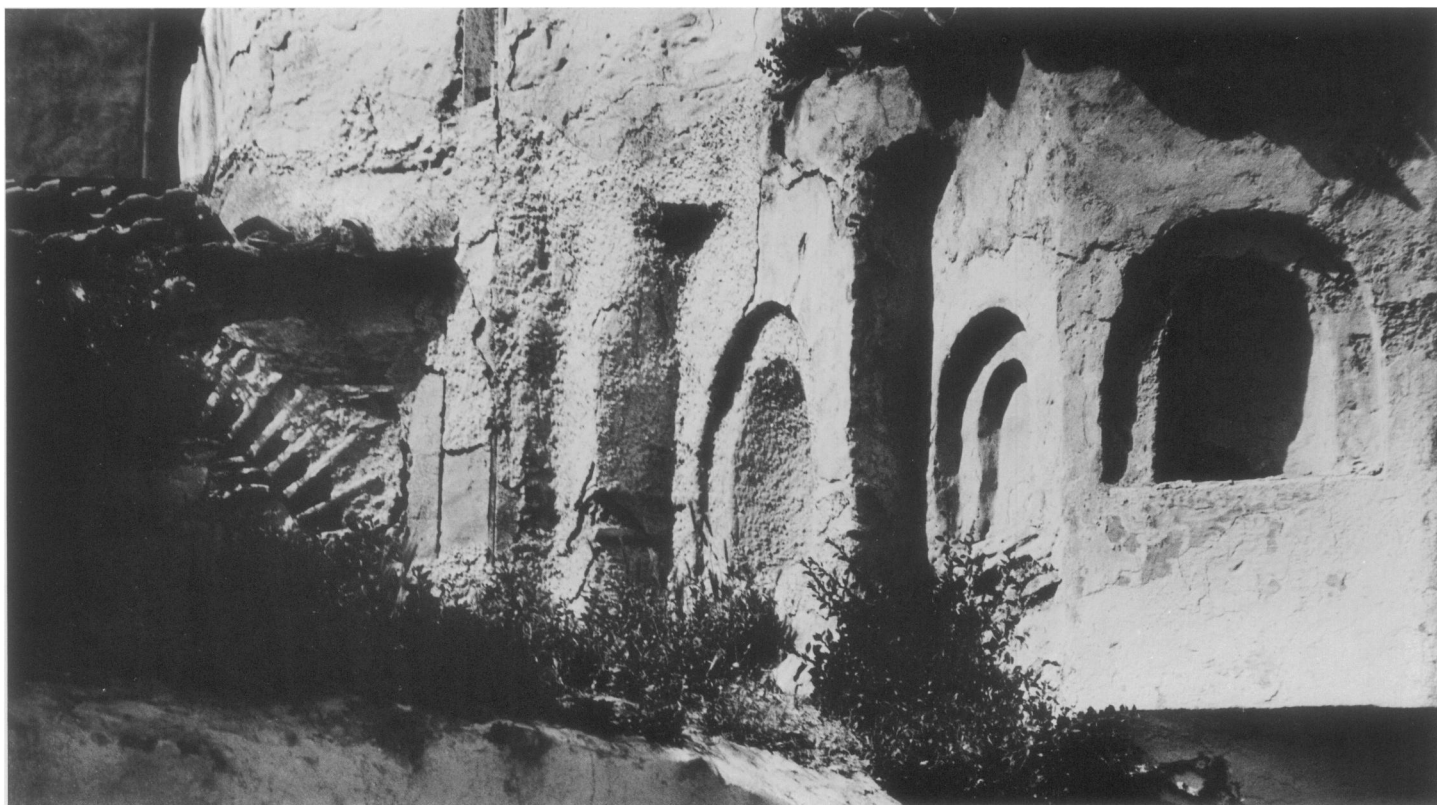
4. Inner Narthex, looking South



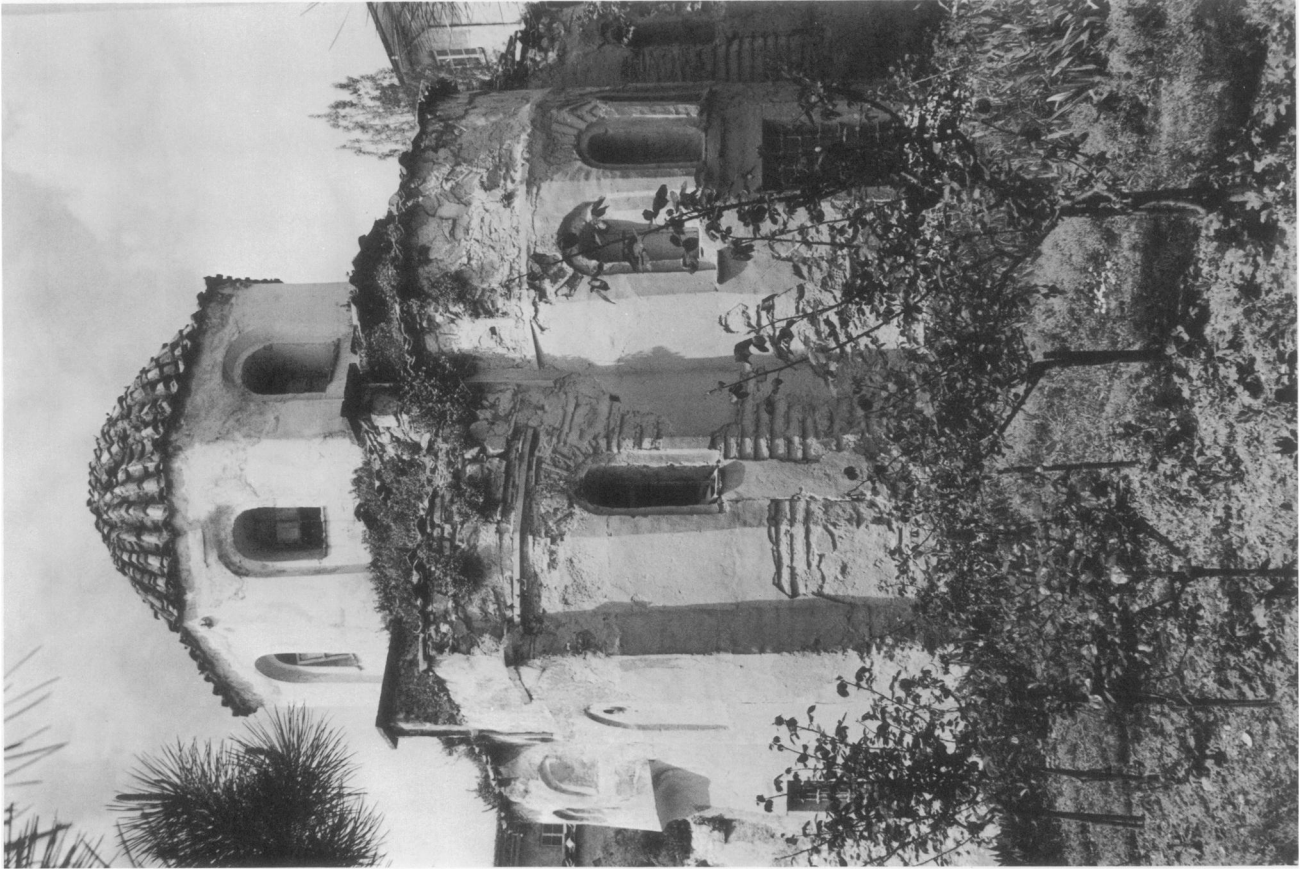
5. View from Northwest



6. South Flank of Church with Belfry of 1797 at Left



7. Recessed Niches continued above Southwest Corner Chamber



8. View of Eastern End of Church



9. Detail of Recessed Brick Masonry around Window of Diaconicon



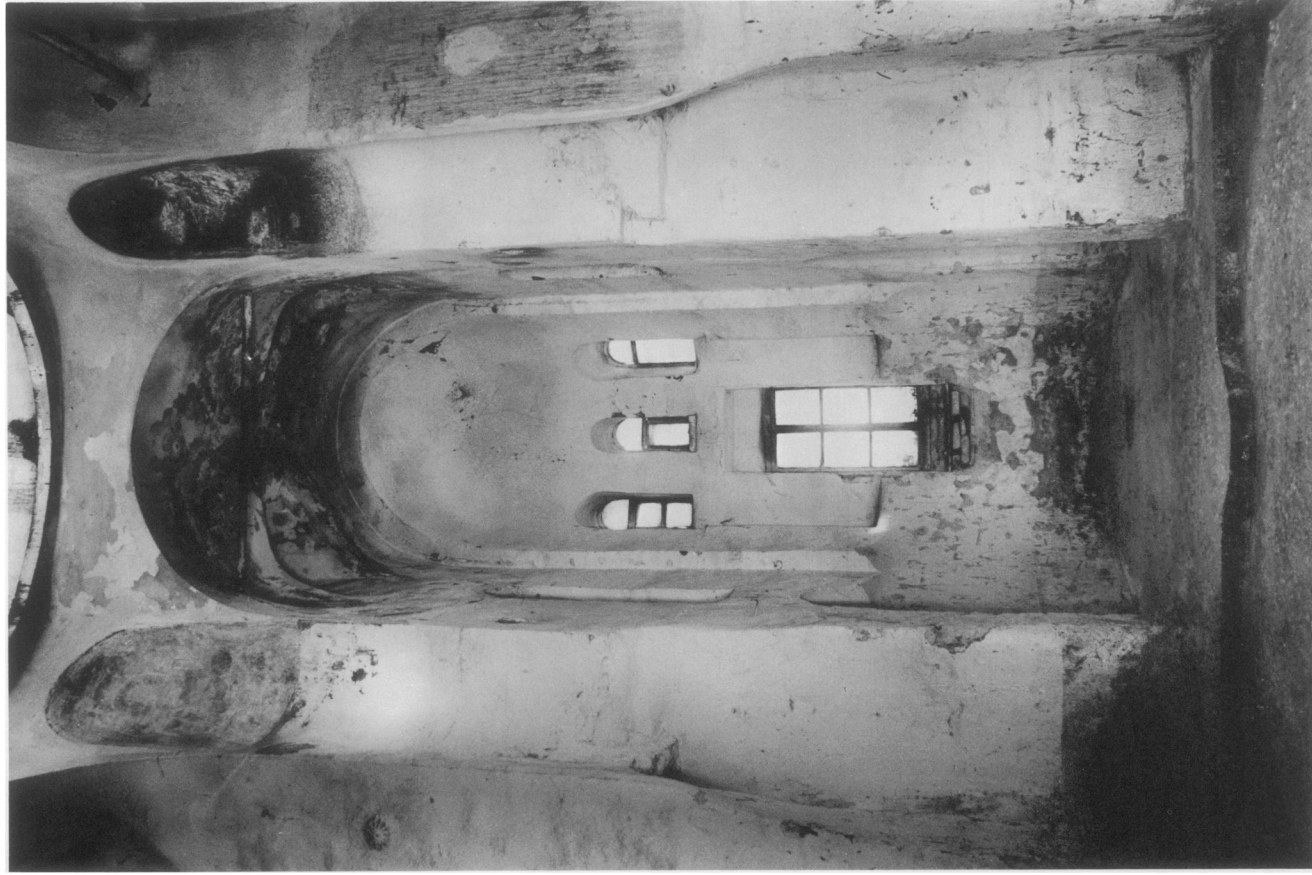
10. Filled-in Niches above Window Zone of Sanctuary Apse



11. Exterior Recessed Niches of North Side of Church, as seen in Northwest Corner Chamber



12. Meeting of Narthex Wall with Wall of Church Proper, as seen in Northwest Corner Chamber



13. East, Sanctuary Apse, and Flanking Niches



14. Southeast Niche, with Sanctuary at Left and South Arm of Quatrefoil at Right



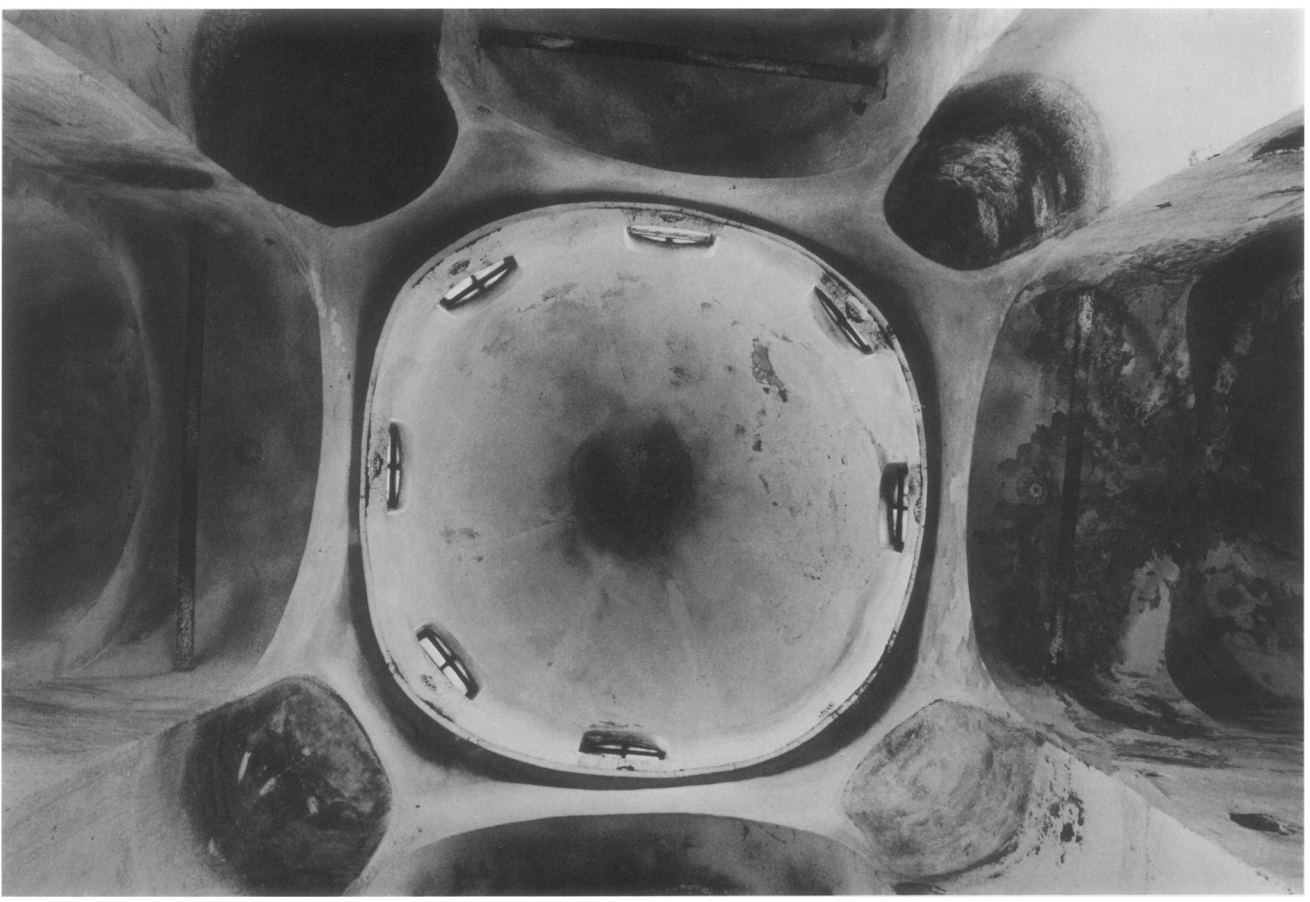
15. Southeast Niche as seen in 1942, showing Frescoes and Iconostasis Fitting



16. North Arm of Quatrefoil, with Northwest Niche cut away



17. Fresco in Southwest Niche



18. View of Vaulting, with East at Bottom of Photograph



19. Prothesis Chamber with partially blocked Window to North (Left) and Window to Sanctuary at Right



20. Vaulting of Diaconicon Chamber

or drink wine and fry dages, except there is a xaldaxors (see upo: 107.) they fast in like manner all ye Lent onely fatin dages, and furd ayes, they may drink wine and eat oyle then.

Feb. 25th Sunday. we went to dine at the farthest great Island, call'd Principe. It is about 6 or 7 mile in compasse. it hath two Monasteries upon it and a little village. The first Monastery is Δρις ουλινρε &c. There were 3 priests there and 15 xaldaxors (though (as hath been hinted) the number rise and fall upon many occasions. It hath Holathenif and onely pages some little peskes to ye subasha perhaps 5, 10, or 15. The 2^d is Αρις γριππο and is deimaled; it is not so large nor rich as ye first; all ye Island in a manner is divided between them; ye village having but little lands. Both these are un- der Chalcedon. To the south e. of this Island is a little town one named Αρδοφου and to ye S. W. is another little town Νιδρο.

We went from thence to Chelchis. on ye S. W. side runs in a round bay. and by ye end at along ye shore we found great quantities of blubber'd & blin'd stone. ye whole Island is a hard yellow, rock. ye stone very heavy. going up from thence we found a little bank of petrified oyster shells all baked together into one stone, and on ye side of ye hill up to Kardaxid/ye monast./ grows abundance of little low wild pine or κιννο. gr. valy. Τιδυ. agatch ye Turke callit. This Monastery about 5 or 6 yeares since was unfortunately burnt down. and panagioty (ye late Virici's drago- man) who lyes buried here re built it at his own proper charges. it is σδυροκην or, and hath a Holathenif; it is the best monas- tery and richest of all we saw. It was first built by John Galeo- logus in ye year of ye world 656. where I take no- tice of ye σδρ κ. which may be is meant p. 35. This stands upon ye N. wall of ye church there and hath been shud ye d at ye ends and corners of ye letters with lead (30. which with the late fire

✠ ΙΩ ΕΗ ΧΩ
ΑΥΘΗΡΑΤΟ
ΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΙ
ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΝ
ΘΗΕΝ ΙΑ 757
ΗΣ ΕΩ.